

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 A-01 NSC-05 NSCE-00 DHA-02 SS-15  
ACDA-07 SP-02 PM-04 CIAE-00 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00  
PA-01 PRS-01 TRSE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CU-02  
/063 W  
-----061126Z 043915 /12

O 061004Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3449  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR EUR/RPM AND A; LONDON ALSO FOR A/COUNS  
AND WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE TEAM

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC  
SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE: REVISED DRAFT TEXT

REF: (A) STATE 101938, (B) STATE 101939

THERE FOLLOWS REVISED DRAFT TEXT OF NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE,  
AS IT EMERGED FROM MAY 5 REVIEW BY THE SENIOR POLITICAL  
COMMITTEE (SPC). THE SPC WILL REVIEW THIS TEXT AGAIN ON  
MAY 9 IN LONDON. OUR COMMENTS AND DESCRIPTION OF REMAINING  
BRACKETS ARE REPORTED BY SEPTEL.

NOTE: THROUGHOUT THIS TEXT EXISTING BRACKETS ARE INDICATED AS PARENTHESES.

BEGIN TEXT DRAFT COMMUNIQUE:

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MET IN LONDON ON 10TH AND 11TH  
MAY, 1977 WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND  
GOVERNMENT.

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2. THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE  
OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND  
SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS, TO PROMOTE THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY  
AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM,  
JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE  
CREATION OF A LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE. THE ALLIES ARE  
FIRMLY RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN, AND, WHERE NECESSARY, ENHANCE

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE TIES WHICH UNITE THEM.

3. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN RECENT YEARS, ELEMENTS OF INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY PERSIST. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE CONTINUING GROWTH IN THE STRENGTH OF OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ALLIES EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR THE ALLIANCE TO MAINTAIN AT AN ADEQUATE LEVEL THE FORCES REQUIRED FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE AND FOR DETERRENCE AND A GREATER DEGREE OF READINESS IN THE CIVIL SECTOR. THEY ARE DETERMINED TO ASSUME TO THE BEST OF THEIR CAPABILITIES THE BURDENS THIS ENTAILS AND TO STRENGTHEN THEIR MUTUAL SUPPORT EFFORTS AND COOPERATION.

EITHER

(THE ALLIED LEADERS ARE DETERMINED TO WORK MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER ON RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION, AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT FOR USE BY ALLIED STATES, AND TO PROMOTE A GENUINE TWO-WAY STREET IN DEFENSE TRADE BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE. THEIR AIM IS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES, AND TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE IN EUROPE AS WELL AS IN NORTH AMERICA A STRONG INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE. THE MEANS OF DEEPENING THIS ALLIED COOPERATION, BOTH WITHIN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, SHOULD BE REVIEWED IN APPROPRIATE FORUMS, WHILE CONFIDENTIAL

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BUILDING ON THE ACTIONS OF MEMBER STATES ALREADY BEING TAKEN IN THIS FIELD.)

OR

(THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP THEIR ARMS PRODUCTION COOPERATION IN THE DIFFERENT APPROPRIATE BODIES. THEIR AIM IS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVING AND PROMOTING IN EUROPE A STRONG INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE.)

OR

(THE ALLIED LEADERS ARE DETERMINED TO COOPERATE (MORE) CLOSELY (ON RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION, AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT.) (IN THE FIELD OF ARMAMENTS.) THEIR AIM IS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES, AND TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE IN EUROPE

AS WELL AS IN NORTH AMERICA A STRONG INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BALANCED RELATIONSHIP IN THE PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. THE MEANS OF DEEPENING THIS COOPERATION SHOULD BE REVIEWED IN APPROPRIATE FORA, WHILE BUILDING ON THE ACTIONS OF MEMBER STATES ALREADY BEING TAKEN IN THIS FIELD.)

LEADERS OF STATES TAKING PART IN THE INTEGRATED DEFENSE STRUCTURE OF THE ALLIANCE REQUESTED THEIR DEFENSE MINISTERS TO (INITIATE AN EXAMINATION IN THE LONGER TERM

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PA-01 PRS-01 TRSE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CU-02  
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O 061004Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3450  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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OF) (DEVELOP A LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE) CHANGING DEFENSE NEEDS OF THE 1980S AND TO REVIEW THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ALLIANCE IMPLEMENTS ITS DEFENSE PROGRAMS TO ENSURE MORE EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THEIR CONVICTION THAT SECURITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD, WITHOUT WHICH DETENTE COULD NOT PROCURE ITS BENEFICIAL EFFECTS, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY STATEMENTS OF INTENT, BUT REQUIRES CONCRETE AND REALISTIC EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS THROUGH EQUITABLE AND BALANCED MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE TOWARDS THIS GOAL IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH ALLIED SECURITY, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT PROGRESS ALSO DEPENDS ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN STATES. THE ALLIES FIRMLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET

UNION TO LIMIT AND REDUCE STRATEGIC ARMS WHICH TAKES  
INTO ACCOUNT ALLIED INTERESTS.

WITH RESPECT TO MBFR, THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES CONCERNED  
EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS,  
THE GOAL OF WHICH IS TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELA-  
TIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY  
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IN EUROPE. THEY CALL FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE ADDI-  
TIONAL OFFER THEY MADE TO THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES IN  
DECEMBER 1975, AND REAFFIRM THEIR OVERALL OBJECTIVE OF  
ESTABLISHING APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES IN THE  
FORM OF A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING (AND THE REDUCTION OF  
THE DISPARITY IN TANKS), WHICH WOULD ENSURE UNDI-  
MINISHED SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES.

5. THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE, IN  
ADDITION TO ENHANCING GLOBAL STABILITY, ALSO PROVIDES THE  
STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE THAT ENABLES THE MEMBER COUNTRIES  
TO PERSEVERE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO LESSEN THE TENSIONS  
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND TO INCREASE PROGRESSIVELY THE  
AREAS OF COOPERATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE ALLIED  
LEADERS REQUESTED THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION  
TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST  
RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE TRENDS  
FOR THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE. PROGRESS IN REDUCING EAST-  
WEST TENSION WILL DEPEND ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH ALL  
CONCERNED SHOW MODERATION AND SELF-RESTRRAINT BOTH IN  
EUROPE AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. (BERLIN)

6. THE ALLIES STRESS THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO  
THE IMPLEMENTATION BY THE CSCE SIGNATORY STATES OF ALL THE  
PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. (THEY WELCOME  
THE STEPS THOUGH LIMITED THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN  
TOWARDS THIS END, BUT NOTE THAT IN A NUMBER OF FIELDS  
PROGRESS HAS BEEN UNSATISFACTORY. MUCH STILL REMAINS TO  
BE DONE BEFORE THE FINAL ACT CAN BE REGARDED AS FULLY  
EFFECTIVE BOTH IN INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND IN THE LIVES  
OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.) OR  
(THEY WELCOME THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN FIELDS  
COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT, BUT UNDERLINE THAT MUCH STILL  
REMAINS TO BE DONE IF THE POTENTIAL OF THE FINAL ACT IS  
TO BE REALIZED BOTH IN TERMS OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND  
ALSO IN THE LIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES  
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CONCERNED.)

THE FORTHCOMING BELGRADE MEETING WILL PROVIDE A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, AND FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON WAYS OF DEVELOPING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE. (TO THIS END THE BELGRADE MEETING COULD CONSIDER A LIMITED NUMBER OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS RELATED TO PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION AMONG SIGNATORIES.) AT THAT MEETING THE ALLIES (WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND) WILL SEEK AN OUTCOME WHICH WILL PROMOTE BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES AND BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL THEIR PEOPLES.

7. THE ALLIES RECOGNIZE AS WHOLLY LEGITIMATE THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT RESPECT FOR THESE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED BY GOVERNMENTS IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, IS ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS.

(ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THAT EVERY COUNTRY BENEFIT FROM TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE WORLD SYSTEM, EACH ALLIED COUNTRY RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.)

8. RECOGNIZING THE VITALITY AND VIGOUR SHOWN BY THE

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PA-01 PRS-01 TRSE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CU-02  
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O 061004Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3451  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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ALLIANCE OVER THE YEARS, THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CLOSE ASSOCIATION AND COHESION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. ON THAT FIRM FOUNDATION THEY WILL PERSEVERE IN THE TASK OF BUILDING A MORE JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD. END TEXT.BENNETT

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## Message Attributes

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